UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

Personal Liberty and Liquor

By ZONA GALE

Parables of War and Peace

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Hebrew University at Jerusalem

By MORTON M. BERMAN

India's Political Crisis

A Book Review

By TARAKNATH DAS

VOLUME CV | NUMBER 6

Chicago, April 7, 1930

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

Subscription, $3.00 Per Annum

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, EDITOR IN CHIEF

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
FRANCIS NEILSON — LOUIS L. MANN — CURTIS W. REESE

UNITY Fellowship
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO
ALSON H. ROBINSON
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Poetry Editors
LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

Managing Editor
EDITH LLOYD JONES

Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

Publishing Committee:
Jenkin Collyer, Chicago. Wm. C. Gannett, St. Paul.
James La Fever, Jamesville. C. W. Wendte, Cincinnati.
J. C. Learned, St. Louis.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.00. Single Number, 10 Cents.

Frances L. Rossiter, 65 Washington St., Chicago, - Business Agent.
J. T. Sunderland, 65 Washington St., Chicago, } Editors of
Geo. W. Cooke, Grand Haven, Mich., - } "Notes and News."

Editorial Contributors
W. Waldemar W. Argow
Charles E. Beals
Percy M. Dawson
David Starr Jordan
Anna Garlin Spencer
Frederick Starr
Jabez T. Sunderland
James H. West

Foreign Representatives
AUSTRALIA—Charles Strong
AUSTRIA—Stefan Zweig
BULGARIA—P. M. Matthéeff
ENGLAND—Harrison Brown, Fred Hankinson, Walter Walsh
CANADA—Norman Stewart Dowd
FRANCE—G. Demartial, Romain Rolland
GERMANY—Theodor Hahn
INDIA—Rabindranath Tagore
ITALY—Dorothy Walton
JAPAN—Nobuichiro Imaoka
PALESTINE—Hans Kohn
RUSSIA—Alina Huebsch

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter, October 12, 1929, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

SPECIAL!

A Series of Nineteen Brief Essays

entitled

"PARABLES OF WAR AND PEACE"

by

John Haynes Holmes
Editor-in-Chief of Unity

These Parables have been written by Mr. Holmes at odd times since the close of the Great War. They are meant to represent in symbolic or narrative form the basic truths of the absurdity and horror of war and of the blessing of peace. Each Parable deals imaginatively with one specific aspect of the subject.

This special series will be published in successive numbers of Unity beginning with the issue for April 7.

Subscribe Now $3.00 Per Year

Unity Publishing Company
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

Contents

EDITORIAL— Page
Notes 83
Personal Liberty and Liquor—ZONA GALE 85
Jottings—J. H. H 86

ARTICLES—
Gandhi—*Upton Close* 83
Parables of War and Peace—1. Hell—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 87
Reflections on the Hebrew University at Jerusalem—MORTON M. BERMAN 87
Hell's Broth Brewing—GEORGE H. SHOAF 89
Mothers, Children and Schools in Soviet Russia—DOROTHY WALTON 90

POETRY—
I Know A Quiet Place—FRANCES R. ANGUS .. 86

THE STUDY TABLE—
India's Political Crisis—TARAKNATH DAS 92

CORRESPONDENCE—
Bertrand Russell and D. H. Lawrence—ALICE THACHER POST 94
A Letter from Miss Strong 94
The Churches and Soviet Russia — ROBERT WHITAKER 94

THE FIELD—
Women's Political Creed 95
The Aims of Young Judaea 95
Prize for the Best Short Story About Parents and Children 95
Medal Awards for the Best 1929 Books for Parents 96
Professor James on India 96

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CV | MONDAY, APRIL 7, 1930 | NUMBER 6

GANDHI

"Gandhi is the greatest of the makers of Asia, because, unlike other makers, he would sacrifice his nation's hope of independence rather than commit one act of violence or chicanery to attain it. He is the world's unique leader, its modern prophet of the gospel of love, whose spiritual descent is through Buddha, Mo Ti, Jesus of Nazareth, St. Francis of Assisi, and Tolstoi. Such men last longer than their immediate causes, and become a factor bearing upon every cause that stirs humanity after them. Gandhi may be the George Washington to the new Indian nation of the twentieth century, but long after this now precious hope shall have materialized, flourished, and slipped into the shadows, like Asoka's empire, he will remain a Christ to peoples of many heritages—the Messiah of the Meeting of the Races."

Upton Close, in "Eminent Asians."

Never was Mahatma Gandhi a greater leader of men than at this moment when he is conducting his march from Ahmedabad to the sea in token of the opening of the Indian revolution for independence. Revolutions have not before been inaugurated in this way. Battle, murder or assassination have usually been the initial items of revolt, or, if there were processions, they were accompanied by soldiery, and banners, and martial music. But what do we see here in India? A little, frail man, accompanied by seventy-nine defenceless friends and disciples, marching over dusty roads in a blazing sun to an appointed station on the seashore, where they are proposing to make salt in violation of English law. Nothing could seem to be more futile, even ridiculous, than this. Yet it is a gesture which defies an Empire and holds the fixed and fascinated attention of mankind. What Gandhi is doing is dramatizing his objective, so that all the unlettered millions of India may see, and proclaiming his method so that all these same unlettered millions may learn. By one single stroke of imaginative genius, he is carrying the revolution into every home and heart, and, himself in the forefront of hazard, is showing the way in which he would have his fellow-countrymen follow on. Never before was there an application of the principle of non-resistance on such a scale and to such an end. The power of the principle is seen in the utter helplessness of the British government in the face of this amazing demonstration of "the terrible meek." The administration cannot let it go on, lest all India catch flame from this blazing spark of unarmed sedition. Yet it hesitates to arrest Gandhi and disperse his followers, so awful is the impressiveness of this little procession of sainted souls. We await breathlessly the outcome, persuaded only that the world has not seen such a spectacle as this since Jesus and his disciples marched to Jerusalem for the last Passover.

We have lost all interest in the tariff bill, and all knowledge of it, too. Where it will be when this editorial is printed, we do not know, nor much care—probably in conference committee, possibly in House or Senate for repassage, perhaps even in the White House for the President's consideration. We only hope that it will soon be out of the way, and its odious memory forgotten. The bill's passage in the Senate, on March 24th last, left us, we must confess, hopelessly confused. The spectacle of eight Democrats voting with the Republicans for a high protective measure seems to us inexplicable, and the name of Borah with that of Smoot in the list of those voting "Aye" leaves us utterly at sea. In a dilemma of this kind, dictated fundamentally by our loss of interest and lack of knowledge, we fall back upon our basic conviction that the whole protective policy is abominable and every tariff measure a crime. From the domestic point of view, protection means financing certain favored interests out of the government treasury; or, to put it more direct, it means robbing the public to support certain forms of private business. From the foreign point of view, protection means denying to other nations the prosperity we are seeking for our own, and thus the breeding of suspicion, fear, hostility. Ethically, protection is the acme of selfishness; religiously, it is the denial of brotherhood. There was a time, perhaps, when the peoples of the earth could build their "Chinese walls" and live for themselves alone. It is conceivable that, in our own pioneer days, the tariff was justifiable. But this time, these days, have now gone by forever. The economic, if not the political, life of the world has become a single unit. Our civilization is doomed and damned if we do not straightway learn to live and labor, suffer and prosper *together*.

Just as President Hoover's Haitian Commission was coming home, after completing a work in Haiti which for promptness and thoroughness is unexampled in our relations with Caribbean countries, the April issue of the *Crisis* appeared with a statement by the

Editor that "the personnel of (the) Commission is not reassuring," and that "from such a Commission we must await a coat of fairly thick white-wash for Russell and his marines, a disparaging criticism of the Haitians, and advice to withdraw sometime. . . ." We know how to sympathize with the Editor of the *Crisis,* for we said some dubious things about this Commission also, and were ourselves frankly sceptical of results. But with a speed which takes our breath away, we find that we have been mistaken, and that already the Haitian Commission has achieved a feat of statesmanship which must rank as one of the major achievements of recent American history. President Hoover's statement of Haitian policy, made at the time of the appointment of the Commission, seemed to us excellent, and we are glad now that we said so. In the light of this statement we much suspect that the Commission went to Haiti under definite presidential instructions, and that the achievement in the island republic is therefore fundamentally the achievement of Mr. Hoover himself. In any case, an indignant and hostile people in Haiti have been appeased, a puppet president has been cast aside, General Russell and his marines have been shorn of their militant and tyrannical power, free elections provided for, and the way opened wide to the restoration of independence in 1936, or earlier. We search our minds in vain for any precedent for this brave and far-visioned action. The regular routine for an investigating commission is to hold endless hearings until everybody is tired and the issue forgotten, then to spend long months in the preparation of a report, and then to issue this report advising some kind of action years or decades hence. This Commission, however, took matters at once into its own hands. It undertook immediately to satisfy the grievances of a long-afflicted people. This is Americanism at its best, as the marine rule in Haiti has been Americanism at its worst.

Is there anything that Americans know so little about as business? We talk proudly of our great business men—the geniuses of modern industry, and all that—and yet these railroad presidents, corporation directors, bankers, brokers, manufacturers, and the rest, are apparently ignorant of their trade, and apparently can produce no results when results are needed most. Did any of these men anticipate the stock exchange crash of last October, or did any of them know what to do when the crash came, or did any of them know what to do when the crash was over? What would we think of an engineer who loaded a bridge with traffic, only to have the structure fall after a few months; then, when the bridge collapsed, ran around in circles like a maniac; and finally, when the disaster was over, folded his hands and sat down and let the wreckage lie? The mere suggestion of such futility as this in the engineering profession is ridiculous, yet the suggestion is a sober fact in the business world. Take the present unemployment situation, for example! No business man knows what to do about it, apparently, except to hang on and let it run its course, as though physicians knew nothing to do in a pestilence except to hang on and wait till it was over. Our business men and financiers cannot even read the facts and know what they mean. Thus Julius H. Barnes, chairman of President Hoover's Business Survey Conference, issued a formal statement a fortnight ago, showing that business was everywhere prosperous. On the same day New York bankers issued a solemn warning against artificial stimulation of business, and advising a policy of "go slow" in "bad times." Our industrialists, when not out-and-out gamblers, playing for stakes in a pure game of chance, are babes in arms no more aware of the factors they are handling than infants scratching matches. An unemployment situation such as exists today convicts our business generals of ignorance, impotence, and crass stupidity. If they were military generals they would be stripped of their decorations and relieved of their commands.

Dr. William J. Robinson, Editor of *Critic and Guide,* has an editorial in the March issue of his paper which is well worth pondering. He says:

> I prescribed the other day an ounce of Fluidextractum Ergotae Squibb. As simple a prescription as one can think of, and one of the most important of our drugs. The patient's husband went to Walgreen's drug store in the Flatiron building (they lived opposite) before noon. *They didn't have Squibb's fluid extract of ergot!* They said they would send out to get it, and it was near six o'clock before the patient got this necessary drug, a drug on which the life of a patient may sometimes depend! But sandwiches, and double rich malted milk, and cigars and hair nets and kitchen utensils and beads and purses and five hundred different things which have nothing whatever to do with pharmacy—all those things you can get there aplenty.
>
> The time is not far distant when stores of such character will bear—will be forced by law to bear—signs: *We handle everything but drugs. No prescriptions compounded here!*

A drug-store used to be an institution for public service. Its proprietor used to be a professional man whose ethical standards and high sense of duty to his fellows were not unequal to those of the physicians with whom he was daily associated. We know just one drug-store where these traditions are maintained, and the place looks as far behind the times as a watering-trough or a buggy-factory. For the modern drug-store is first of all a restaurant. Next, it is a soft-drink emporium. Then it is a patent-medicine exchange. Nearly always it has a talking machine and radio department. Liggett's drug-store in the Grand Central Station, New York, has a well-stocked book-store. Its toys, like Katisha's left shoulder-blade, people come miles to see. These modern pharmacies are great and wonderful things to see. But drugs, or a druggist who knows how to compound drugs—these are things of the past! What we have here, of course, is a process of commercialization. The drug-store pro-

prietor is out after the almighty dollar. Drugs bring no large returns. Postage-stamps, which every drug-store used to carry as a matter of public convenience, attracted few customers. So why not add other things, and turn an extra penny? Well, the other things have been added one by one, and now these other things monopolize the place. The funny side of the situation is obvious. To go into Liggett's music department, or Gray's theatre-ticket agency, in New York, is an hilarious experience. But, there is another side, as Dr. Robinson has shown, which is not so funny. It is our conviction that private initiative and competition, to quote the great slogans of our money-grabbing civilization, have here betrayed a great institution of public service.

The sudden death of Bishop Shipman, of New York, following hard upon the equally sudden deaths of Bishop Slattery, of Massachusetts, and Bishop Anderson, Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church, gives dramatic emphasis to the laborious and exhausting lives which are followed by these high ecclesiastics. We have said our say more than once in these columns about bishops as a tribe, but we have never failed to recognize, we trust, the devotion of these men to the manifold duties of their office. We search our minds in vain to find men harder worked than the average bishop of the Episcopal Church. Indeed, we would extend this encomium to the modern ministry as a whole. Our clergymen today, especially in the large cities, are extraordinarily busy men. What they do may seem to many persons to be futile. But their unending tasks occupy these men every day in the week, frequently for twelve and fifteen hours of each day, and steadily drain the utmost resources of body, mind and spirit. We would like to see the average banker or big business man live for a month the life the average minister and rabbi live year in and year out, and observe how long he would last. The clergyman, to be sure, lasts on the average a long time—he is a good insurance risk. But this means not that his work is easy, but that he is devoted to it and thus enjoys it, that he has early learned the technique of its discipline, and above all that he has trained himself to a personal life of decent standards, regular habits and normal satisfaction. The longevity of the clergy is a tribute to character and intelligence. If they did not keep themselves fit for their unremitting toils as the athlete keeps himself fit for the race, they would not last a decade in their churches. Even as it is there comes a death like that of Bishop Shipman, an utterly devoted man, trembling with exhaustion after a long religious service, then dropping as though shot in his home, which shows how terrific are the labors which only the strong man can bear.

Personal Liberty and Liquor

If personal liberty is really the issue of the Prohibition problem, one wonders why this issue does not vitalize many another problem?

If one wishes to insist on personal liberty, why not champion the cause of the unemployed? Their only approach to personal liberty is liberty to stand in line for hours outside the employment agencies.

If one holds out for personal liberty as a general right, why not fill the front pages of the newspapers with infringements on the personal liberty of miners and sweat shop workers.

If personal liberty is the point at issue, the defenders might be expected to rise as one against the violence done to personal liberty in war, and in conscription—and should never rest while these violations of personal liberty exist. It seems incredible that people can be so earnest over one brand of freedom and be so indifferent to freedoms involving human misery and human wrongs. Those who have worked among the sick, the unemployed, the gassed, the underpaid—what must they be thinking of this great cry about the personal liberty of drinking beer and light wines? With all the sum of human woe resulting from loss of liberty in crushing forms, how can one make such a point of an infringement of liberty on having a drink?

We are forgetting the large and loving the little. A great man said, "Isn't it a rather small business to make a political issue over whether or not a man shall have a demi-john in the cellar?"

The right of children to be decently born, to have parents clean in body and in mind—the right to be properly fed and educated and taught a vocation and forever decently paid—and never forced to the use of physical wounds and bloodshed as a means of settling social difficulties—there is the kind of personal liberty for all of us to be thrilled about. There is a quest of liberty that demands all that a man or a woman has of love of human freedom and hatred of human bondage.

The London *Observer* reports an interesting hearing held recently in London on this subject.

Sir Josiah Stamp, president of the London, Midland and Scottish Railway, appeared before the Royal Licensing Commission, "to survey the relation of the drink habit and the drink trade to industrial efficiency, social welfare and the national revenue." The *Observer* reports that at this hearing the space reserved for the

public was for the first time crowded to hear this evidence of the man whom this paper refers to as "our greatest living economist." Sir Josiah's evidence, summarized in its important particulars, submits:

1. As to production, if there were no alcohol there would be no very extraordinary difference in total production. But that if demand is taken into account, the evidence shows that demand created for other things, where previously it was for alcohol, would be cumulative in time. For every one hundred pounds now spent for alcohol, not the whole of that amount would be spent on sport or other more lasting things, and a certain proportion of it would go into capital.

2. As to the effect on industrial efficiency, valuable material quoted pointed to the probability that taking industry all through, the total reduction in efficiency produced by consumption of alcohol is something like ten per cent. But this is only half the case, for, again, the money not spent for alcohol will be spent for other things as, substituted beverages, for the adults, more and better food for the children, and clothing and house amenities and assets.

3. As to the economic value of alcohol as a taxing agent, it was brought out that in England this revenue has fallen from £201,000,000 in 1921 to £131,000,000 in 1929. If the period of alcohol diminution should be spread over a period of ten years, Sir Josiah said: "I would laugh at the monetary problem." He agreed with Mr. Gerald France that the increased output in England, without the alcohol habit, would amount to £225,000,000 a year and that if even half the net alcohol expenditure were transferred to other commodities, in a single generation the nation would gain a new asset of £1,000,000,000.

At the end of the hearing by the Royal Commission came the following questions and answers:

Q. Would you say that national efficiency ought to be one of the specific aims which this Commission should seek to serve in its recommendations?

Sir Josiah. National efficiency is the vital consideration. The Commission would be lacking in a sense of social responsibility if it did not inquire into all the effects of alcoholic indulgence on industrial efficiency.

Q. Would such recommendation by the Royal Commission rightly aim at a considerable reduction of the present alcoholic consumption?

Sir Josiah. Certainly.

Q. The liquor trade lavishly advertises its various beverages. What would you say to the value of "Less Beer, More Milk" as a national slogan?

Sir Josiah. I should say, "Drink less beer yourself, give more milk to your children."

ZONA GALE.

Jottings

Cardinal Hayes has referred to "the almost unparalleled warfare against religion in Russia." That word "almost" is good! When he used it, we imagine the Cardinal was thinking of some of the persecutions conducted by his own church. The Soviets would have to do pretty well to parallel those.

Who are the leaders in world peace? A recent questionnaire sent out by *World Unity* reveals the following: Ramsay MacDonald, Aristide Briand, Herbert Hoover, Jane Addams, Mahatma Gandhi, Lord Robert Cecil, Frank B. Kellogg, Elihu Root, Salmon O. Levinson, Romaine Rolland, Jane Smuts and Erich Remarque.

Stanley Baldwin, leader of the Tory Party in England, dedicated recently a statue of the late Mrs. Pankhurst. We wish we might have been the chaplain on this occasion. We would have read the Lesson from Matthew 23, especially verses 29-33.

"Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,
Th' eternal years of God are hers;
But Error wounded writhes with pain,
And dies among her worshipers."

So wrote William Cullen Bryant! But this was before the days of the "movies" and the "talkies."

An excited "wet" in Minneapolis declares in horror that there are "three thousand beer flats" in that city. The Minneapolis *Journal*, not so much excited, has found a statement in its columns of March 26, 1908, that there were "four thousand blind pigs" in Hennepin County, or about one for every seventy-five inhabitants, *in addition* to more than four hundred licensed saloons. Curious that the "wets" can never learn that bootleggers, speak-easies, blind pigs, and all the rest, are old institutions, known long before Prohibition was ever heard of!

Prices of aeroplanes are falling. So are aeroplanes! The problem is the same in both cases—how to keep the darn things up!

J. H. H.

I Know a Quiet Place

I know a quiet place
Down by the sea,
Where, softly, white-fringed waves
Creep among tall grasses.

Only water murmurs there
Sweeping through the sand,
Only grasses, whispering, stir
At touch of sea's cool hand.

FRANCES R. ANGUS.

Parables of War and Peace

I.

Hell

It seemed impossible that he should die—he who had lived so devotedly for his country. Die?—it was incredible! Yet, even as he was wondering how the nation could get along without him, he passed away.

He seemed suddenly to wake up, as out of long slumber in a railroad train. He was in front of an entrance gate, marked "Heaven." So he really was dead, and had come to his reward! Well, he deserved it. Who had been so patriotic as he?

He was standing with many others before a kind of desk. There evidently was going to be an examination! It reminded him in a dim, far-off way, of certain journeys on the earth when he had had to cross frontiers.

His name? Yes—and his country, too, of course!

"America?" The examiner seemed to be baffled. "America?" he repeated. "I know of no such place."

The patriot gasped in dumb dismay. "You don't know America?" he said, at last. "Is there no America here—no Americans—no place where I can find some of my fellow-citizens? Why, America is God's country . . ."

"*This* is God's country," said the examiner, with what seemed to be a touch of sternness. "Here we know only God, and the children of God."

"That's treason," shouted the patriot. *"Treason!* We put men in prison in America for saying less than that. I want nothing to do with this place. Let me go—at once."

The examiner smiled. He was patient, and very kind. "I think you will be happier—elsewhere," he said.

Darkness!—and again the patriot seemed to wake out of sleep. He was standing, as before, at an entrance-gate, this time marked "Hell." So they had sent him below! That was strange. Why should he go to Hell? But perhaps they had no other place. Well, he would wait and see!

His examination was brief. His country was recognized and duly recorded. Careful directions were given for assigning him to the right quarters. It was like going to a well-regulated hotel, and being escorted to a room reserved.

But was this really Hell? Surely, it was like nothing he had heard of, or imagined. The sky was blue, the air balmy. There were trees, and brooks, and flowers. Fields were mellow with the ripening crops, cities busy with industry. There was no fire, no heat, no pain and blasting torment. The churches must have been mistaken. It was all very curious.

Now it happened on a certain day that the patriot encountered Satan, and spoke with him.

"This is a surprising place," he said. "We were told on earth that Hell is an eternal fire where lost souls burn and are unconsumed. But I find no flames here, I see no suffering. Why it all seems much like home."

"Yes?" said Satan, with a curious smile.

"But I do not understand," continued the new arrival. "Why call this Hell, if men live here happily? Where is the pain, the punishment?"

"You have not been here long," said Satan. "No?—well you must be patient. Just wait a bit, and you will see."

There came a darkened light into the dread Being's eyes, and he said:

"We have no flame here, no torment, for we do not need them. Men live here, as on earth, in separate countries, behind frontiers. They are organized into states, with kings and presidents. They recruit armies and build navies. They wave flags, and sing anthems, and raise monuments to soldiers. They are patriotic—very patriotic. And this," said Satan, with a pause that seemed to shake the silence as with the mutterings of distant thunder, *"this gives us all the Hell we need!"*

"Wait! You will see."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Reflections on the Hebrew University at Jerusalem*

When I wrote to an American friend of the profound impression that the Hebrew University had made upon me, he replied: "In view of what you have told me of the economic depression in the country (*this was in 1926*), and particularly of the need for more land to cultivate and for more implements with which to till the soil, I cannot understand how you can overlook the fact that the building and the maintenance of the University are taking away money from more useful purposes. Without meal, there is no learning." I answered my friend by means of an argument that took the form of a parable:

"On the road that lies at the foot of the Hills of Gilboa and joins the *Kevuzoth* of Ain Charod and Tel Joseph, I came upon a young shepherd leading his flock to graze. In his right hand, the shepherd carried a staff, and in his left, a book. After we had exchanged greetings of "Shalom" (Peace), I asked him: "What does a shepherd with a book, when he leads his sheep to graze?" "My sheep will eat grass, and drink of the cool brook," he answered, and, pointing to his book, he hastened to add, "and I shall refresh myself from these living waters. 'Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord.'" "But this is no Bible," I interposed. "No, it is a volume of poetry by Bialik. But it contains no less the word of the Lord, for all that gives nourishment and sustenance to the Hebrew soul is from the Lord. And this would be no less true, if this book were a work on sheep-grazing rather than a collection of poems. For God is in all things that help to liberate the Jewish spirit."

"For the first time," I wrote to my American friend, "I understand why it is so important to stress the cultural development of the land, though it had scarcely

*The author of this article, Rabbi Berman, held the first Guggenheimer Fellowship, given by the Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, for a year of study in Palestine. He is at present Director of Field Activities of the Jewish Institute of Religion.

been subjugated to the plough and to the hoe, since the Jew will prefer to go hungry rather than forego the study of his all-embracing Torah. Now I understand why, thirty years before the nations of the world had given their sanction to Israel's claim to his Homeland, Herman Shapira, a professor at Heidelberg, conceived of the Hebrew University, and why, weeks before Allenby had marched victoriously through the Jaffa Gate to take possession of the Old City, the cornerstone of the Hebrew University had been laid. For to the Jew, the book is as necessary to life as bread, and to the rebirth of the Jewish people, the University is as essential as the marshes regained for human habitation, as the sandy wastes won back for wheat and vine and fruit, or as the roads cut through the mountainsides. For the University is the home of the ageless Jewish spirit. It is the granary full of the sheaves of a wheat that will nourish the Jewish soul. And, if I may mix metaphors, it is the way made plain to the high places of national creativity."

Of course, my American friend replied that I was taking Hebrew culture too seriously. He could not see what that culture had to do with the life of the modern Jew. I forgave my friend for his blindness, for I knew it was not due to obtuseness or perverseness on his part, because, despite my more intimate contact with Hebrew culture in the Diaspora, I too had had, at times, misgivings as to its relation to the life of the modern Jew. Hebrew culture, in the *Galuth,* had semed to me something strained, something forced, something always external and never inward—a *joujou* with which to amuse oneself, or a theme upon which to write articles for "intellectuals," or a pretext for a sermon before indifferent auditors. At the Hebrew University, I found Hebrew culture something vital. The University was no museum, housing mummies, such as I had seen at Cairo. The University was a vitalizing agency, creating a synthesis of the life and culture of the Jewish people. On Mount Scopus I became aware that Judaism was no misfit garment, twisted awry and made grotesque in the attempt to fit it to a body for which it was not intended. There I learned to feel that Judaism fitted the life of the Jew, that it not only touched his life, but penetrated it profoundly, and gave it grace and distinction and nobility. And this was not simply so because Hebrew, the vehicle of instruction at the University, was the language of the street and the home and the school and the theatre, for the common denominator that makes Jewish life and Jewish culture one is not merely a language but something as mystic as the union between body and soul.

Aimé Pallière, who recently visited America, relates that when the little daughter of one of his acquaintances saw Edmond Fleg's book, "Why I Am a Jew," lying on his library table, she turned to her father and exclaimed: "But, father, what a funny title! Why must anyone explain why he is a Jew? The Frenchman makes no explanation of why he is a Frenchman, nor does the German, nor the Englishman, of why they are what they are." In Palestine, the Jew ceases to ask the question, "Why I am a Jew." There no one needs to explain his Jewishness. He is Jewish, because he is Jewish. His civilization is Jewish, because he wills and lives it so. And when the Jew goes to the University (and I write particularly of the Institute of Jewish Studies), he does not inquire of himself, "Why do I go, and what shall I find here?" —questions that are too often on the lips of young Jews outside of the land before they venture to give themselves to Jewish studies—for the Jew goes to the University, knowing that there he will find something that will add to and enrich his life as a Jew, giving to his life that something without which it must remain starved and wan and wasted.

But I would not suggest that the University serves no practical needs. The Institutes of Chemistry, Microbiology, and Natural History are performing yeoman service in the land. If the soils of *Eretz Israel* are being made more productive each day, then the Institute of Chemistry must be credited with that accomplishment. If tobacco is to become one of the chief products of the land, this Institute will have been responsible through its experiments. If the treasures of the Dead Sea are to find their highest values, the chemists of the University will help discover them. Disease will gradually be eliminated through the studies of the Institute of Microbiology. The growing of citrus fruits and almonds has already been greatly aided by the researches of the botanists of the Institute of Natural History. The students working in the Institute of Mathematics and Physics will contribute to the industrial development of the land, while the Institute of Oriental Studies, by making the Arab known to the Jew, will help to create a better understanding between them, an understanding that must become even finer and deeper as Arab students begin to know the Jew through availing themselves of the opportunity for research at the Hebrew University. Once there is a mutual appreciation of what each people, Jewish and Arab, has contributed and may contribute to the world, the land will find that peace which is the *sine qua non* for its practical development and prosperity. Thus it may be seen that the University is not merely an intellectual playground, but a laboratory for the rebuilding of the Jewish Homeland as well as for the recreation of the Jewish soul.

In America one hears vain hopes expressed of a united Israel. At the University one discovers how unity may be achieved. From every corner of the earth, students have gathered. Yet, despite differences of background, of temperament, and of point of view, that residence in divers lands has woven into the very warp and woof of their nature, there is a oneness of spirit and a oneness of aim that have welded them into one homogeneous band. The student body of the University is a symbol of a united Israel, of an Israel working as one for a free, fuller, richer Jewish life. Here one is no German Jew nor Russian Jew, no Reform nor Orthodox, no conservative nor liberal. Here one is a Jew or nothing at all. Here one is an inseparable part of *Kelal Israel,* of the whole of Israel. Not that there are no differences of opinions, not that varied views are not held as to how Jewish problems ought to be solved. But here there is unity in variety, and variety in unity. Here, though all may have different approaches to what is desired, what is desired is one, namely, a Jewish life such as only a free people in a free land may hope for and achieve,—a life rich in the potentialities of creation.

Some have been fatuous enough to describe this aspiration toward self-expression as chauvinism, and have condemned the University where this urge for self-expression reaches its highest, as the hotbed of perverse

nationalism. Whoever speaks thus speaks in ignorance of the aim of the University, as Dr. Judah Magnes, its Chancellor, has again and again demonstrated it to be, by his refusal to permit the University to be converted into a training school for overzealous nationalists rather than an institution where truth is to be sought freely and honestly. True lovers of science and its methods will not permit narrow patriots to make of the Hebrew University what has been made of some of the minor universities of Eastern and Central Europe, places for the breeding of hate and murder. The University must remain the fortress of freedom. It must remain the home of the truth that cannot be confined within national boundaries. It must be the symbol of what *Eretz Israel* is to be to the world, namely, the meeting place between East and West, the ground where Orient and Occident will meet and learn to understand each other, to the end that all the prophecies of strife resulting from distrust and enmity may prove to be false. MORTON M. BERMAN.

Hell's Broth Brewing

Thoughtful readers of the press note with interest and some with alarm news of religious persecutions said to be taking place in Soviet Russia. Before permitting themselves to grow hysterical the people of the United States should ascertain the source of this news and the reason for its publication. Is it news really reliable from the Russian interior or does it originate in Riga, headquarters for anti-Soviet propaganda, and purposely colored and magnified by American newspapers?

Here is a matter which admitted or not vitally concerns every man, woman and child in this country, and about which everyone should be fully informed. Instead of evading and avoiding, as the tendency seems to be, every liberal and progressive paper and speaker devoted to the public welfare should be giving this matter the widest publicity, bringing it out on every occasion and subjecting all the issues involved to frank analysis and discussion. Only by doing so will the people be prepared to meet the shock of possibly disastrous consequences.

Persons acquainted with history and familiar with the iniquities of the capitalist system have been forced to conclude that champions of the present social order are deliberately pursuing a course which they calculate will unite their deluded followers behind them in a projected war upon Soviet Russia, with the United States leading the fight.

Owners of land and capital through their agencies of public opinion—the press, pulpit and movies—dare not make acute a comparison between common ownership of the means of life, as it obtains in Soviet Russia, and the private ownership of capitalism, and on that basis throw down the gage of battle. Such a sordid contest they know would never appeal to the spirit and prejudices of the American people. More adroit, they are playing to the higher reaches of the mind and heart, skillfully enlisting public sympathy, and pushing to the fore the ancient issue of religion wherewith they expect to excite the people, stampede them into endorsing the war and drive them into fighting its battles when it comes. Democracy, too, has been joined to religion in this press, pulpit and movie campaign. Invoking the shades of Washington and Lincoln the mercenaries of the rich who rule this nation are damning the Soviet authorities for prohibiting counter-revolutionary activities at a time when the failure or success of the Soviet experiment is hanging in the balance. In this onslaught high-minded but misguided patriots are uniting with the beneficiaries of special privilege, while political socialists who should know better are repeating the performances which nullified their principles during the world war.

American plutocrats well know that Soviet success sounds the doom of American capitalism. Rather than witness that success and experience the overthrow of their own privileged positions, they are seeking to provoke international strife and drown the land of the Soviets in a sea of blood.

Irrespective of individual standing it would appear that every liberal and progressive in this country, every advocate of peace and opponent of war, every working man and woman capable of independent thought, should resent instantly and mightily the dastardly program now in process of preparation. Opposition to war with Soviet Russia does not necessarily mean an endorsement of proletarian dictatorship or that atheism is superior to religion. Antagonists of the whole Soviet regime can consistently and with justice range themselves on the side of peace in this matter and refuse to become puppets of conspirators who would prolong the life of capitalism through bloody war.

If ever a nation needed peace and wanted peace in order to develop its industries and organize its national life that nation is Soviet Russia. If ever the rulers of a nation needed war and wanted war in order to perpetuate and extend their power that nation is the United States of America. And following closely upon the heels of the United States in this respect is the British Empire. All that Soviet Russia asks of the capitalistic nations of the world is international peace so that it might devote itself to the solution of its own domestic problems; and that peace which Soviet Russia requires, the United States and Great Britain appear determined to deny.

Soviet Russia, it is freely granted, is a menace to international capitalism. In that country all land and capital are publicly owned, and the instruments of production and distribution are operated for the benefit of all the people. Public good, not private gain, is the dominating obsession. No person is permitted to grow rich, indeed he cannot grow rich, unless all the people grow rich with him. Private speculation is rapidly disappearing and the very incentive to steal is being abolished. As quickly as possible every man, women and child is registered so that the whereabouts and activities of every person will be common knowledge. With the complete organization and correlation of industry every able-bodied individual will have to do constructive work in order to eat, and no one will be allowed to loaf or live off the charity of relatives or become a public charge. Common ownership naturally will make for common rulership, each responsible unit having a voice in the management of the common property, and for the first time in the

history of men and nations the people will be democratic and free.

Contradicting at almost every point what Soviet Russia stands for is the United States. Theoretically representative, the American government virtually has developed into a political mafia functioning primarily to protect the rich in their robbery of labor, and to guarantee the status quo. Kept ignorant through public opinion dictated by the rich, the poor remain impoverished and oppressed and for the most part satisfied. Should Soviet Russia succeed, however, and news of that success get to the workers of the world, and especially to those in the United States, then it probably will be just too bad for the rich, their retainers and apologists, and the government which enables them to rob and to enjoy the fruits of their crimes.

To the credit of plutocracy it must be admitted that it anticipates the future now and then, and in its own interests acts with promptness and dispatch. Determined to destroy Soviet Russia it is now laying the foundation for war in the minds of the American people. Through the press, from the pulpit and by the movies the people are being led to believe that the Russian people are irreligious, that they are making a mockery of God, and that as a Christian nation the United States should declare war upon Russia and with guns and dynamite and fire and sword, not excepting blockade and starvation, Christians should rescue the Russians, turn them from the error of their way, put them right with the Maker of heaven and earth, and incidentally right as regards their attitude toward private property.

The last war capitalism fought was to make the world safe for democracy. That war, of course, was won. The next war, it is now proposed, will be fought in the name of God to make the world safe for religion. Anyone with an ounce of sense, however, knows that all wars capitalism fights are waged purely to protect and perpetuate capitalism itself. The capitalist system exists and can exist only on and by and through war. As capitalism advances towards its climax war grows more imperative and will come with greater frequency. Another war is needed and is nearly due; and where in all the world is it easier to direct the unthinking multitude for a fight than toward Soviet Russia? And over what issue is it easier to arouse them than over the religious issue?

GEORGE H. SHOAF.

Mothers, Children and Schools in Soviet Russia

[From Our Special Correspondent]

Russia today is no paradise for anyone, not even workers. None who has seen the food shortages, the clothing shortages, the unemployment, the overcrowding resulting in serious epidemics, the terrific oppression of the Gay Pay Oo which is no different in any respect from the Czar's cheka, none who learns of the daily slaughterings, the suppression of any free development of literature, art or drama can call Russia a paradise. And on the other hand none can see the incredible development of schools, of social insurance, of model factories with kindergartens, creches and clubrooms, nor witness the museums crowded daily with groups of workers literally lapping up the lectures of the guides without frank admiration. Nor can one see the factory committees of simple self-respecting people managing their own affairs without a feeling that this is considerably better than what one knew of prerevolutionary days.

So when beggars and breadlines and the heavy hand of dictatorship oppressed, I sallied forth from our great tomb of a hotel to find something to offset the gloom. The motives and intelligence of a government can best be judged I believe by its educational program. In Russia this is a vast enterprise including all children and adults with the exception of those with clerical or aristocratic connections or the unfortunate progeny of what are known as rich peasants. The social program and educational program are so interlocked that it is hard to tell sometimes where one begins and the other leaves off. One of the first institutions I visited in Moscow was a creche. It was connected with a rubber factory nearby and it took children from three months to four years. It is the hope of communism that there will one day be enough creches for all the babies in Russia. This particular creche had a waiting list of 800. Every new factory has a creche built as part of its equipment. Every newly organized collective farm is provided with one of these day nurseries. Communism believes that children can be better and more scientifically reared in nurseries than by individual mothers. Its entire social program presumes the eventual abolishment of the home. The home encourages individualism. The home is wasteful. So new soviet towns and villages are built with public eating kitchens, public laundries, public recreation grounds, public creches, kindergartens and schools, dispensaries and hospitals. Family apartments are planned relatively small since they are used only for sleeping purposes. All able adults are expected to work and babies are mere incidents as far as a mother is concerned (theoretically, I might add). At the age of three months the mother leaves her baby at the creche and calls for it again at night. From then on her contacts with her children are principally during their sleeping moments.

Is there dissension to this program? The patient Russian has on the whole learned that silence is the best policy. But psychologists are still ardently working on behavior problems, giving parents instruction on child problems, presuming evidently that family life still exists, as of course it does, and that family problems are important. And there is the woman who wrote to the Moscow paper just after the continuous production edict went into effect complaining that there was only one evening a week in which the family could be together since everyone worked different hours. What was the reply? The reply was typical. "This woman has bourgeois ideas about the family. If she continues to complain she may be considered a class enemy."

But to come back to the creche. It was not unlike an American day nursery. The babies were divided into age groups and their daily program was admirable. The equipment was scientifically prepared, the toys were what one would expect to see in one of our best preschool groups. A woman doctor was in charge and her assistants as I watched them with the children impressed me as having caught the idea of leading children to self expression and independence. I never saw tiny children help themselves so competently. This nursery like all of Moscow was feeling the shortage of milk as a result of the extreme farm policy of the government and I felt that the diet was far from adequate. The noon meal for the older children, for instance, which I was invited to sample, consisted of a thin soup made from meat. This meat was later ground up and mixed with potatoes which formed the main dish. Dessert consisted of a thickened fruit soup made from a sort of cranberry plus cornstarch. The allowance for each child per day was about fifteen cents and this must pay also for a breakfast and an afternoon lunch.

In the room where the tiny babies were kept a six months old child lay on its back in a play pen. Across the pen a string was stretched on which were brightly colored rings and rattles for the baby to grasp as it lay experimenting with its hands and toes and mouth. The assistant apologized because there was only one baby in the pen and explained that there was so much sickness just now that many of the children were at home.

"It is against our principles to let one child play alone," she said. "They must learn to share and to play together even when they are still infants."

I looked at the infant sucking the rattle and remembered my own disinfecting days.

"But what do you do to prevent the children passing the rattles back and forth and sucking the same ones," I asked with my American hygienic ideas to the fore.

"We do nothing," she replied.

"But then how do you prevent infections," I asked.

"We examine the babies every morning when they come in and if they are not well we do not admit them. So no infections can occur."

I was silent but not convinced. But it was an interesting evidence of communism staking its future on the children. As we left the doctor begged us to ask our American friends for clothes—the children hadn't enough warm things so that they could go walking on cold days.

"Willingly," we said, "but your government refuses to let us send in anything." She smiled sadly and shrugged her shoulders. Which reminded me of a group of American engineers in Leningrad who were required to sign in their contract with the Russian government that they would bring in no presents for Russians or give anything of their own away. This forced one of the conscientious wives to put a discarded coat in the wastebasket so that the maid could have it indirectly since it was not permitted to give it to her directly. This is only part of the policy to make Russians buy their own products even though the supply is insufficient and inferior. Another instance of how Communism is weaning the younger generation away from bourgeois ideas I met in one of the best preschools in Leningrad. The principal of the school told us that dolls were forbidden. They had none in the kindergarten equipment nor were little girls allowed to bring their own dolls to school. We looked rather astonished. "But why?" we asked.

"Because," said the principal, "domestic work inculcates a desire for homes and babies. When the children first come they always want to play house but we give them toy trams and automobiles and encourage them to play *socially useful* games, things they can do co-operatively. We substitute figures of pioneers and working people for dolls to stimulate up-to-date games of modern life."

"You don't consider a mother, as such, socially useful then?" I asked.

The principal replied, "Yes, of course, a mother is socially useful but she must be something else besides a mother."

This school was otherwise conducted on Montessori principles and the principal had studied under Madame Montessori herself. Montessori whose whole curriculum is based largely on the activities of the home! "Yes," the principal admitted, "I know, but we have changed our ideas, adapted Montessori to our life."

But these ideas are by no means universally applied. There is still considerable experimentation in elementary education allowed by the soviet government. In another school in Leningrad an entirely different program is followed, perhaps similar to that of Jessie MacKinder in England. Here were all the apparatus for housekeeping that one could desire and cooking experiments on a real stove, to say nothing of washing and ironing doll clothes as part of the daily program. In this kindergarten I asked whether anything was done about anti-religious propaganda. "Oh, yes," said the teacher, "very definitely."

"In what way—what do you do?" I asked.

"Well, for instance we tell the children about the sky. We explain to them what it is and then they know there is no heaven."

Through the children the mothers are organized into clubs. They are weaned away from Easter celebrations by being encouraged to celebrate May 1. Questionnaires are common in the regular schools for obtaining a census of religious feeling and to find out the sources. "Do you believe in God?" was the first question on a paper a high school child had to fill out. "Who told you to?" was the second. Children are encouraged to ridicule their parents' ideas of religion and especially their superstitions. I will never forget a scene I saw on Jewish New Years. We went to a synagogue out of curiosity to find out whether there would be any government interference in the celebration. The synagogue was filled to overflowing. We could hardly get inside and to see the service was impossible. We came at a time when I believe mourning over the ancient exile and sufferings of the race takes place. To us it seemed as if it might well have been a grief for the present as well as the past. It was rather an upsetting experience. Outside next to the synagogue were a series of effigies pasted to the wall. A group of young men was standing about jeering and laughing. The group increased to a crowd. Some took up the jeers, others were silent. It was anti-religious propaganda. Just then a truck came rattling past filled with young Jews, shouting, making fun, sneering at their old fogey relatives just emerging from the synagogue. Official interference was scarcely necessary.

I visited another kindergarten just after the No-

vember celebrations. It was one of six schools for the children of communist party members. It was housed in the beautiful residence of a former rich merchant and its big panelled rooms were equipped much like our own modern kindergartens; blocks, sandpiles, flowers and pictures. It seemed so much like home that I could scarcely realize I was in Russia until I noticed what was unmistakably supposed to represent the Kremlin wall. That, explained the teacher, was scenery for a play the children had given to celebrate the holidays. Their favorite game, she said, was dramatizing the revolution. So some of the children had been factory workers, others soldiers and some were the "rich people." Of course the factory people won over the soldiers and together they stormed and took the Kremlin. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, who is on the central education commission recently made a public speech to the effect that children should be encouraged to play games featuring the class war but the workers should of course always win.

Back of all Russian primary education is the principle to acquaint the child with the world he lives in, that is the Russian world. I find this on the whole perfectly good educational philosophy and in spite of propaganda it has a great deal of value to Russian children. For instance the day we visited a detention home for "homeless boys" we noticed a number of little girls about. On questioning we discovered that these were "pioneers" from the country. In their village during the summer some of these homeless boys had been placed to help with the farm work and to learn farming problems. Now the girls had come to the city to see where the boys stayed in the winter and to discover how the wheels of a city go round. Cots had been put by night in the boys' library and by day the girls helped some within the institution and were taken off on sightseeing trips to museums and institutions. This home was the most pathetic and dreary example of an institution I have ever seen. It was evidence of the grim poverty with which Russia is struggling with her many problems. Five dollars and a half a month for each boy—to clothe, feed and educate. One shoddy blanket apiece on cold nights in unheated dormitories and frankly, quite frankly, not enough food. But teachers with kind, devoted faces. There was no reform school atmosphere about the place but a genuine earnestness to give these wild little animals opportunities and a chance to live honestly in a civilized community. The spirit of the place was the only thing that could possibly hold these hardened wanderers, for their own romantic past was far more exciting than the civilized life and ugly surroundings of the home.

In a regular elementary school in Moscow I saw all sorts of charts and drawings of soil and weather conditions and farm products on the wall. The children had been on a week-end visit to the country, had talked to the peasants, heard their problems, and had learned how the city and country depended upon each other.

This sort of linking up of the city worker and the peasant is carried out with adults as well as children. We were visiting a textile factory one day where wool goes through all the processes ending up in cloth. Emerging from the factory was a party of peasants from the Caucasus in quite oriental dress and headgear, their skin and eyes strangely eastern. They had been sent by the government to see what happened to the wool that they had sheared from their own sheep hundreds of miles away and shipped to Moscow. Whether this is education or propaganda it is certainly an intelligent method of moulding a co-operative consciousness.

Another time I was visiting an optical glass factory with a Russian friend. It was during the November holidays and the factory workers were having an entertainment for a group of school children. These children attended a school which had been "adopted" by the factory. In this way the factory co-operates with the school and the school with the factory. The factory lends books from its library to the children, helps with the "pioneer" organizations, is a link between the theory of school and industry. The school offers classes for the parents and this factory composed of highly skilled workers which directly after the revolution was nearly 100 per cent illiterate is today nearly 100 percent literate.

There is plenty to criticize in the content of Russia's education from a pedagogical point of view. But it is unfair to judge anything in Russia by ordinary standards. Russia has scrapped everything; has jumped from feudalism to Communism. If we have much to criticize, we may have also something to learn. No paradise certainly, but the most interesting country in the world today.

DOROTHY WALTON.

The Study Table

India's Political Crisis

"Whether India shall strive at once for complete independence or for dominion status: that is, shall India secede from the British Empire and become a completely independent and sovereign state; or shall India remain within the Empire on the basis of a 'ministerial government', a national executive responsible to a national legislature, such as Canada and other dominions of the Empire enjoy?" This was the main issue before the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress, held during the last week of December, 1929, which decided in favor of the program of complete independence. This action has resulted in a political crisis of immense magnitude in India. However, no student of Indian political history can ignore the fact that the session of the All-India National Congress held at Calcutta in December, 1928, paved the way for this momentous decision in favor of Indian independence.

In "India's Political Crisis,"* Prof. Hull has given us an excellent, unbiased and concise presentation of the course of Indian politics, especially the activities of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta, in 1928, and the All-Parties Conference. He has given a very careful and correct digest of the All-Parties Conference and the Nehru Report, which contains an outline of a constitution for self-governing India approved by the All-India National Congress. He has discussed important issues of communal representation, the rights and the rule of Indian princes, affecting the cause of Indian nationalism. He has presented

*"India's Political Crisis," by William I. Hull, Ph.D. Published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. $2.

facts which are very essential to an understanding of the rapid evolution of the revolutionary march of Indian nationalism. In discussing political problems facing the Indian nationalist leaders, Dr. Hull makes occasional comparisons with the historical incidents of revolutionary era of American history. The author has no-where made a dogmatic assertion regarding the political parties of India and their respective programs. On the contrary he has tried to give the exact position of various Indian political parties by quoting the utterances of their leaders.

From the perusal of the book it becomes clear that Mr. Gandhi is not the only leader of the Indian nationalists, but the youth of India are fortunate in having many worthy leaders whose names are not known to the American public, but who are more ardent champions of the cause of Indian independence and probably will play a more important part in the drama of India's struggle for independence than the Mahatma himself. Until the session of the All-India National Congress held at Lahore, Mr. Gandhi was an advocate of "dominion status" for India, and he opposed the program of Indian independence. One may venture to suggest that during the Lahore Congress Mr. Gandhi moved the resolution advocating complete independence of India, possibly because it was clear to him that the younger generation might not have accepted his leadership with a program of "dominion status." The attitude of the younger generation has been well expressed in the following extracts of the speech of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, who advocated complete independence for India during the session of the All-India National Congress at Calcutta in 1928:

"The young men of India have accepted the responsibility of making India free. We revere our older leaders and love them. At the same time we want them to keep abreast of the times. But if our older leaders do not come to a compromise with us who may be deemed the Moderates among the Extremists, the breach between the young and the old schools will be irreparable. Thanks to the Youth Movement, a new consciousness has dawned upon the youth of India. They are no longer prepared to follow blind-folded any and every policy. They have realized that they are the heirs of the future and it is for them to make India free. . . ."

In this connection, it may be wise to note Prof. Hull's critical estimate of the Youth Movement of India. He writes:

"There is a very strong and perhaps revolutionary Youth Movement in India, as throughout the world since the World War. This movement is directed largely against the political schism caused in India by the hostility between the Moslem and the Hindu; and its leaders declare that with the passing of the elder generation and dwindling of religion or ecclesiasticism, in importance, the hereditary hostility between the two religions will be ridiculed out of existence, and all Indians will place India's welfare above all religious strife, which last, indeed will fall into the limbo of outgrown and forgotten things. While the Youth Movement in India is undoubtedly of exceptional strength and promise, time alone can pass on the accuracy of this prophecy."

Prof. Hull's discussions give important indications that the Indian nationalists, during the last few years, have been thinking not merely in terms of non-violent non-cooperation, but in terms of international relations and formation of national militia. Under the presidency of the late C. R. Das, the All-India National Congress held at Gaya in 1922, entered upon an attempt to establish agencies in America and Europe, to organize a Pan-Asiatic Federation and to enlist 50,000 volunteers. In 1928, during the Calcutta session of the All-India National Congress, Mr. Styamurti, one of the leading advocates for Indian independence, presented a resolution requesting the Congress to "establish agencies in other Asiatic countries for the purpose of promoting trade, cultural and political relations among them, these agencies to be established especially at Kabul, Teheran, Constantinople, Moscow, Nanking, Tokio, New York, Berlin, Paris and London.

The Congress Volunteer Movement according to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, is "a nucleus of future National Militia. . . ."

Prof. Nripendra Chandra Banerjee, in his address before the fifth annual conference of the Volunteers held at Calcutta on the 30th of December of 1928, made the relation between the Indian independence movement and Indian National Volunteers clear. He said:

"India is now out on the high roads of adventure in quest of full-fledged national independence. . . . Dominion status is internal autonomy within the British imperialist ring, and independence is autonomy in all branches of national well-being and security outside of British control and suzerainty. I stand for the latter. . . . The mandates given by the All Parties Convention and the National Congress have to be enforced; and the only way they may be enforced by the creation of a permanent All India Corps of National Volunteers, auxiliary to and controlled by the All India National Congress. Every member of this corps, officer and private, will have to take a pledge of loyalty to Congress and accept its creed and ideals, and push on the program of work Congress may adopt from time to time. The organization will practically be a federal one, giving great latitude to the provinces. It is to be a fighting organization, but not equipped with powder and shot. I am not quite sure in my mind whether the organization will be absolutely non-violent in thought and word; but so far as I can visualize the near future, it is bound to be absolutely non-violent in deed—but prepared to face baton and even machine gun charges from hostile organizations based on militarism; ready to die but not anxious to kill . . . ."

In our estimate, young men, like Mr. Bose, Prof. Banerjee, Mr. J. L. Nehru, the president of All-India National Congress and others, will be the leaders of the future. It is rather significant that many of these men are now in prison and have been on many occasions. To Prof. Hull India's struggle for freedom has a tremendous world significance, and he says:

"The eyes of the world are upon them (Indian nationalist leaders); and not only the British, but all other peoples are wavering as regards India and other 'backward' lands, between two political philosophies. The first of these was expressed by Lincoln the Democrat, who declared: 'There is no man so wise or so honest that he can be trusted to govern another man without the other man's consent': and by Gladstone, the Liberal, who asserted: 'It is liberty alone which fits man for liberty.' This proposition, like every other in politics, has its bounds; but it is far safer than the counter doctrine, 'wait till they are fit.' The

'counter doctrine' was expressed by Curzon the Tory, who opined: 'The Resolutions of India's National Congress are like the popping and fizzing of soda-water bottles. . . . By environment, by heritage and by upbringing, Indians are unequal to the responsibilities of high office (even) under British rule.'

"History's pages are awaiting the answer of India's leaders to this question, and will record impartially the story of their efforts, failures and successes. Meanwhile, they are not unmindful of Washington's, Franklin's belief, expressed in the poet's dictum:

"Treason never succeeds; and for this reason:
If it succeeds, who dares to call it treason?"

"The eyes of all the world are eagerly fixed on India in this political crisis. If her people and the British can solve their mutual problem by *peaceful* process, they will receive a heartfelt tribute of praise and gratitude from all the world, and will establish for posterity the greatest of historic precedents in favor of the peace-method as against the war-method of settling disputes between nations."

TARAKNATH DAS.

Correspondence

Bertrand Russell and D. H. Lawrence

Editor of UNITY:

You are very right about Bertrand Russell and D. H. Lawrence, and you have stated the case splendidly.

We want to be wide-minded, and sympathetic with the changes of growth. Nevertheless, without being bound by convention or dogma, we may cling to such proved fundamental principles as, that sex may enhance all human values but it should not override them; and that the sweetest human experience supports the monogamic principle.

ALICE THACHER POST.

Washington, D. C.

A Letter from Miss Strong

Editor of UNITY:

The following is a copy of a letter written by my daughter, Anna Louise Strong to Miss Smith, Executive Secretary, Open Forum Speakers Bureau, Boston. I am sending it to a few of my daughter's friends.

SYDNEY STRONG

Dear Miss Smith:

Many thanks for your kind inquiries. I shall not return to America this spring. I want to stay and see the biggest revolution yet take place,—the rural revolution. I used the word "revolution" not as metaphor, but as a reality; it has all a revolution's brutality, hopes, and uncertainties. And it is much bigger than 1917, which was only the preliminary tremor.

Incidentally, a booklet written by me on "The Tractor Station,—highest technique of collectivization", and badly translated into a style by no means gripping, has been grabbed for issue in a first edition of 300,000! A special man was sent with the manuscript to Leningrad, since all the linotypes of Moscow are overloaded, and it was desired to rush the book through in ten days, for the spring sowing campaign. No proof reading even is allowed me; I only trust the editors have found the same faults that I have. . . . This gives a little idea of the forces at work on even the fringe of the struggle. And who would sacrifice an audience of 300,000 peasant householders, (which means much over a million readers,) in the midst of a desperate struggle over the complete remaking of farming,—for the sake of influencing mildly an audience of liberal Americans!

I am having a great time. The only thing that may induce me to come back to America even next year is father's presence and his constant gentle reminders of my many friends who wish to hear me. Otherwise, it is so much more exciting living here; when I see Louis Fischer come back after six months abroad, and watch the poor fellow trying to find out what has happened to change the face of the land,—I don't want to lose touch. Of course he's an able person, and will catch up quickly. But I resent even the month I shall probably spend in Geneva, getting my passport renewed and seeing my relatives in June. If for two days one doesn't read the papers, one is already a back number.

There is of course much cruelty, and terrible injustices,—what can you expect when the execution of drastic policies must be put through by twenty-year old half-instructed young Communists who are anxious to make a record for loyalty, and who are far more extreme than intended. One could sum up the injustices in even one township and have enough for kind pacifist souls to damn Russia forever. But on the other hand,—a hundred million people are being shaken, willy-nilly, through three centuries in a decade; and the crisis is especially this spring.

Moscow, Russia. ANNA L. STRONG

The Churches and Soviet Russia

Editor of UNITY:

Repeated notice has been given through the columns of the daily press of the intention of the churches of America to make public protest on account of the alleged persecution of religion in Russia. Many churches in many cities have made such protests. In my city I have made protest against the proposed program of the churches, and I would now share this protest with your readers. My reasons for speaking are many, of which I submit the following:

First, that, concerning these persecutions, if such they may justly be alleged to be, we have not sufficient data of unquestioned reliability to pass upon them in an intelligent and dispassionate way. There are many indications that much of the present indictment against Russia is on a level with the atrocity stories told against Germany during the recent World War, in the circulation of which defamatory and generally mendacious material the churches showed a pitiful credulity and a vicious zest.

Second, that it is the judgment of many of our more progressive religious leaders that such a protest on the part of foreign ecclesiasticisms will not only be ineffective in mitigating the attack upon organized religion in Russia, but will actually tend to increase the prejudice against religion there, and the disadvantages of the religious. May I call the attention of those participating in this ill-advised protest meeting to the excellent editorial in the *Christian Century*, under date of March 5, 1930, "Christendom and Sovietdom." Also let me cite an editorial to like effect in *Zion's Herald*, of Boston, Mass., of the same date. Other equally responsible utterances on the part of forward-thinking religious leaders might be given. On the other hand, it is obvious that many organs which are openly hostile to organized religion welcome this ill-judged interference under the leadership of world-recognized religious reactionaries as calculated to intensify anti-religious prejudice in Russia, and to justify all that has been claimed by the opponents of the churches as to the alliance between them and the apologists and defenders of special privilege and social extortion everywhere.

Third, that the churches of Christendom have not hitherto demonstrated any such common concern and unity of action with respect to the claims of the oppressed everywhere as to offset the common suspicion that they are acting in this instance out of deference to their economic and political masters, and in keeping with their age-long alliance with the powers-that-be, as was conspicuously the case with the Russian Church itself. It is a fair inquiry at this moment why the churches, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, have not made common cause before this time in public protest against the wrongs from which the American Indian has suffered, against the outrageous and unconstitutional persecutions of the American Negro, against the over-riding of labor rights, and on behalf of the millions who at the present time are unemployed here in the United States.

Fourth, that, despite all formal disclaimers to the con-

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Women's Political Creed

Platform of the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement, Representing, It Is Estimated, Twelve Million American Women

1. We believe in the government of the United States, based on the Constitution, the supreme law of the land, according to Article VI of the Constitution:

"This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding."

2. We believe that prohibition of opium, alcohol, and other habit-making drugs is a necessary protection in this machine age.

3. We believe the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution, voted by forty-six out of forty-eight states in the way prescribed, with a greater majority than any other amendment, is binding on all states.

4. We believe in the Volstead act, which has met the test of the Supreme Court and limits alcoholic content to one-half of one per cent. No other standard would be safe for children and those not inoculated with alcohol.

5. We believe that under the existing act the buyer is equally guilty with the seller in illicit transactions in liquor.

6. We believe the economic gain resulting from the use of billions of dollars formerly spent in saloons, speakeasies, and liquor for private use, now used for better homes, clothing, food, washing and sweeping machines, automobiles, radio, life insurance and bank deposits, justifies this law.

7. We believe the moral issue makes this law obligatory for the individual citizen and the duty of every church member, and that every church should teach respect for this law through its priests and ministers.

8. We believe in personal liberty for women who have endured personal slavery through drunken husbands, and we recommend Paul's interpretation of liberty to certain eminent educators and legislators.

9. We believe in law observance for the protection of life, property, homes, and human rights. Education in law observance, necessary and important, should be supplemented by discipline, the only education for the lawless and criminal found largely among the upper classes and in the underworld.

10. We believe, since "lawbreakers must not be lawmakers," lawmaking and enforcement departments of our government should demand that members, sworn to protect and defend the Constitution, either cease attacks on the Constitution leading to contempt for law, or relinquish their office. And since the first duty of the government is to protect the people from violators of the law, we call for immediate and adequate action whatever the cost.

11. We believe, according to the Constitution, Article VI, that courts of justice should be relieved of prejudiced judges, often responsible for the failure of justice and the breaking down of law, through protecting the criminal rather than the public.

12. We believe there is no authority or precedent for submitting the Constitution, as a whole, or in part, to a national referendum.

13. We believe that the press, which has been in the past and should be now a moral and civic asset, ought, without regard to the personal opinion of owner and editor, to give fair representation of the views of law-abiding people and the government, rather than continue attacks on the law which will not be repealed and whose enforcement may be weakened by statements leading to crime and disorder.

The Aims of Young Judaea*

As Stated in Preamble to Constitution

To advance the cause of Zionism, to further the mental, moral and physical development of Jewish youth and to promote Jewish culture and ideals in accordance with Jewish traditions.

As Formulated for Young Judaea Members

I am loyal to America and devoted to the Jewish people.

I will keep a healthy mind lodged in a healthy body.

I will learn all I can about our people: our thrilling history, our beautiful Hebrew language and literature, our customs, traditions and our hopes and aspirations for the future.

I will always be true to the ancient ideal of the study of the Torah for its own sake.

I firmly believe that the restoration of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine, Eretz Israel, is the highest practical ideal that the Jewish people must fulfill. I consider it my solemn duty to learn all I can about the land, its problems, and to render the fullest measure of service towards its restoration.

I am proud of my heritage and traditions. I will aim to live as a Jew in the home, synagogue and street.

I will serve my club, my community, my country and my nation, and I will always be ready to help in all things Jewish.

*Now celebrating its twentieth anniversary.

Prize For the Best Short Story About Parents and Children

The Parents' Magazine offers a prize of $250 for the best two-part story dealing with the relations of parents and children, problems of child life and child training or situations involving boys and girls in their teens. Plots and treatment must be psychologically sound. *The story should be written for adults.* No juvenile material will be considered. Stories should not total more than 6,000 words and must

---

trary, it is evident that the present attack upon Sovietdom is animated much less by concern for religion than it is by fear of Soviet success in the economic field, and a desire to prepare the way for an economic blockade of Russia so as to forestall the demonstration there of the revolutionary achievements of what is known as the Five Year Plan. Everywhere throughout Christendom the rule of dog-eat-dog, every-man-for-himself-and-the-devil-take-the-hindmost program of materialistic anarchy, which has the approval of ecclesiasticisms of every kind, is breaking down, to the unspeakable distress of the common people. This it was which provoked the World War, in which betrayal of all religion and of all decency and sanity the churches led the way. The promised success of Sovietdom on the economic field threatens with further disaster the anarchies of greed with which the churches of Christendom are in alliance. The millions of the masses in every land who have forsaken the churches because they have found no real refuge therein, and no effective championship of the common rights, will not be slow to pierce through the insincerities of this present alliance of the churches against Russia, at the instigation of all the forces which are in alignment to perpetuate privilege and plunder.

Finally, may I suggest "a more excellent way" in which the churches may speak out for their brethren in Russia so as to command the favorable attention of even the Soviet authorities, and the respect of the masses of mankind everywhere?

Let them confess the failure of religion in Russia, on the side of its formal organization, through all the centuries in which organized religion has been the tool and ally of the oppressor there; let them, in this Lenten season, which commemorates the death of one who was himself a workingman and who suffered death on the cross through the alliance in his day of ecclesiasticism with social and political reaction, do penance publicly for this scandal of the ages, and as proof of penitence let them make common cause in all the so-called Christian countries with the disinherited of all nations until the oppressors find no pleasure in them and the oppressed everywhere own them as champions and friends. Then, when we have justified religion at home it will be time to make united and public protest that we are not allowed to export it abroad, though such protest will be quite unnecessary as the religion that is religion in this profound and important degree will be as impossible to bar from any country as it is impossible now to bar the word of what Russia is seeking to do for the common man.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

La Crescenta, California.

be submitted by November 1, 1930. If two or more stories are adjudged of equal merit, duplicate prizes will be awarded. In addition to the prize award, $100 will be paid for every other story accepted for publication. If stamped return envelope is enclosed, those stories judged unsuitable for publication will be returned promptly after reading. Address: Fiction Editor, *The Parents' Magazine*, 255 Fourth Avenue, New York.

Medal Awards For the Best 1929 Books For Parents

The Parents' Magazine announces its fourth annual medal awards for the best books for parents. On the advice of a committee of experts, medals are awarded to the authors of the following books published in 1929, each of which makes a distinctive and outstanding contribution in the field of child care and training.

To the late Elizabeth Cleveland for her book, "If Parents Only Knew." Published by W. W. Norton & Company. A message from teachers to parents telling what the modern school is doing for the child and how the home can help.

To William E. Blatz and Helen Bott, for "Parents and the Preschool Child." Published by William Morrow & Company. The results of observation and scientific research clearly and interestingly presented, which will help parents to find an answer to the question: How can we best train our young children?

To John E. Anderson and Florence L. Goodenough for "The Modern Baby Book and Child Development Record." Published by W. W. Norton & Company. A book that enables parents to make an interesting and valuable record of the development, behavior and experience of their children from birth to sixteen years of age.

Honorable mention is made of:

"The Sex Life of Youth," by Grace L. Elliott and Harry Bone. Published by Associated Press. A book that will help young people to formulate a liveable, workable code of sex ethics.

"Race Attitudes in Children," by Bruno Lasker. Published by Henry Holt & Company. A study of race attitudes as they appear in the feeling and thinking of children—how they are acquired and how they may be modified.

"Personality Adjustments of School Children," by Caroline B. Zachry. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons. This book points out both to parents and teachers their responsibilities and opportunities in regard to the developing personalities of children.

Professor James on India

"In undertaking to crush out the attempt of a long enslaved nation, (like India) to obtain possession of itself, to organize its own laws and government and to be free to follow its own eternal destinies according to its own ideals, we are crushing out the grandest thing in this human world—and we are helping to destroy faith in God and Man."

—*Prof. William James, Harvard University.*

A Timely New Book

PALESTINE

TODAY AND TOMORROW

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Dr. Stephen S. Wise says: "It is the most understanding book that has been written about Palestine." It is also a most revealing book, based on a recent journey through Palestine and written largely since the recent riots between Jews and Arabs. The Zionist movement in all its aspects is graphically surveyed. You will finish this unusual exposition with a new understanding of Palestine and its problems.

Just Published by THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Price $2.50

Order from UNITY PUBLISHING COMPANY

700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois

The

Oakland :: Press

GOOD PRINTING

Invitations, Announcements, Programs, Letter Circulars, Business and Personal Stationery, etc.

3913 COTTAGE GROVE AVE.

PHONE - ATLANTIC 1876

Phone Oakland 489 **JANITORS' SUPPLIES**

Everything in HARDWARE AT PORTER'S

4236 Cottage Grove Ave.

Chateau de Bures

par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise
17 Miles from Paris, France
Country Boarding School
To Prepare Boys for American Colleges
30 Acres Own Farm
New Dormitories With Outdoor Sleeping Porches
Gymnasium. Athletic Fields
Modern, Progressive Methods
Music, Art, Sciences
English, French, and American Masters
For information address
EDWIN CORNELL ZAVITZ, Headmaster
Chateau de Bures, par Villennes, Seine-et-Oise, France

IN APRIL

Comes Easter as the signal for introducing your clothes of a new season. Spring demands an appropriate wardrobe—and there is no greater economy to be practiced than the use of our service which so expertly cleanses and freshens each previously worn garment that you send us.

Schumann & Co.
Cleaners Dyers

PHONE DREXEL 0231 ALL DEPARTMENTS
MAIN OFFICE AND WORKS
3960 Cottage Grove Avenue

LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS

A Hundred Aspirations Towards Peace and Goodwill

By WALTER WALSH, D.D.

"The one hundred prayers gathered in this volume are infinitely precious."—*Unity.*
"Very beautifully expressed, phrased in golden words."—*The Inquirer.*

5s. net. Postage 4d.

WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 38 Gr. Ormond St., London, W. C. 1 England